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LOYAL:

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Revolutional Tory.

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some Reflections on the Principles and Conduct of the TORIES; thewing them true Friends to the present Establishment, some of the capital Pillars of the Constitution, and worthy of Royal Trust and Considence.

By a FRIEND to the Church and Confitution.

Human Societies, as well as the Circumstances of every individual Member, are in an eternal Change and Fluctuation. Such who by wise Conduct, or lucky Events, may be entitled to the chief Favours of Government, and Smiles of them in Poewer, may, by other Scenes of weak and ungrateful Management, forfeit them; while others, more remote from Royal Regard, by a steady and good Conduct, may obtain those Favours their Rivals have shew'd themselves unworthy of.

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THE

LOYAL:

OR,

Revolutional Tory, &c.



HERE is no Nation upon Earth enjoys greater Degrees of Liberty, or a more extensive Freedom than our own; no

People are better fecured in the Enjoyment of their Properties; nor any Constitution better framed to preferve and perpetuate these Blessings to Posterity. Such however is the Impersection of human Wisdom, and B such fuch the Infufficiency of human Laws and Inftitutions, that the best and profoundest Schemes of Policy are always intermixed and sullied with some Evils not common to Constitutions less excellent. Human Policy, like the Mind of Man, as it becomes adorn'd and cultivated with more noble Qualities and Perfections to render it happy; so it becomes still more obnoxious to many Sufferings, Passions and Anxieties unknown to baser and more ignoble Understandings.

THE same Form of Government which protects us in the Enjoyment of Liberty to its utmost Boundaries, gives most Power to wilely and ill-designing Men to perplex and annoy us, by making the Interests of Liberty subservient to those of Sedition and Confusion; and thus have they blasted that Tranquillity and Quiet, the natural Produce of a true and a rational Freedom, and essentially requisite

requisite to complete the Fruition of those Privileges our Ancestors have with so great Profusion of Blood and Treasure procured and transmitted to us.

- FACTION, the Pest of Society, has always increas'd proportionably to the Degrees of Liberty we have enjoy'd. Various are the artful Pretexts us'd to divide us into Parties, and to keep alive the Spirit of Revenge and implicit Hatred. Hence we have been induc'd to imagine ourselves of different Natures and Tendencies; and instead of endeavouring to unite and incorporate ourselves into one common Mass, we have been unnaturally actuated, as it were, by a repulfive Faculty, if I may be allow'd to use a Philofophick Term, which has tended to widen and increase our Distance, and obstruct our mutual Approach. This Disposition has been cherish'd by an Adherence to and Observance of Party-

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Party-Names, without enquiring into the real Distinctions of Men's Tenets and Political Maxims.

DID the Consequences of Party Divisions terminate merely in a Theor. retic Diffension of the feveral Individuals, it would be happy for England. Did intestine Jars and Commotions of each Party end and center in Personal Animosities only, they could not be attended with any fatal Effects to a Nation in general. But whilst a Kingdom is thus divided, it not only gives our Neighbour-Nations many Advantages over us in our Negotiations with them; but likewise curbs and restrains a wise and good Prince, and his judicious Ministry from procuring and communicating fuch Emoluments and Bleffings to the Subjects in general, as they might do to a People happily united in Policy and Religion.

IT must be acknowledg'd, extremely difficult, if not impossible

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for the wifest and most equitable Administration that ever existed, so to conduct the Management of Affairs as to preserve an Equilibrium between the opposite and contending Parties. Should fuch an Essay be ever attempted by any Ministry, it is but natural to suggest that so far from obliging either, they would inevitably lose the Affections of both. For that Partiality in judging and censuring of others, which Mankind in general too naturally fall into; that strong Impetus and Preposiession to think ill of each other, stimulates them to furmife that the Favours and Indulgencies granted to one Party, were more than they had a Right to: And the adverse Body, for not being taken that extraordinary Notice of by Men in Power they think themselves deferving of, or for not engroffing their whole Regard, become equally averse to the Government, as if they had received received no distinguishing Marks of Favour whatsoever.

WHEN one Side or Party of a Nation have manifested themselves more attach'd to their Prince than the other, the Prince then lies under an indispensable Obligation, both from the Laws of Gratitude and good Policy, to bestow his Favours upon his tried and experienced Friends. The utmost that can be expected by a Party, some few of whom have so notoriously oppos'd his Majesty's Succession, and others too supinely neglected to distinguish themselves upon critical Emergencies, is, only to enjoy, in common with the rest of his Subjects, the Protection of their legal Rights and Properties. For, fuch Conduct in fome Few, at fuch nice Conjunctures brought an Odium and Suspicion upon the whole Body, as well Friends as Enemies to his Majesty, which nothing afterwards could effectually wipe

wipe away from those Well-dispos'd, but an uninterrupted Series of steady Attachment to his Majesty's Interest. As his Majesty knew many of them to be his open Enemies, so he could not possibly discover who amongst them were his true Friends, 'till they had manifested their Zeal for his illustrious Family, by their own particular Behaviour.

THAT turbulent and noify Cry of High-Church and Low-Church, Whig and Tory, laugh'd at and contemn'd by all thinking Men, has too too long fpirited up and fermented our Party Divisions. To fuch a Pitch of malignant Spleen and inveterate Resentment has each Party rais'd themselves, that the least Shadow of Respect received by the one, would infallibly incur the irreconcileable Hatred, Obloquy and Reproach of the other.

WHILST a Nation was under this infatuated Power of Party Rage,

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the greatest *Patriots* to their Country, the most ardent Adherents to Concord and Unanimity, saw themselves under an unavoidable Necessity of enlisting themselves into that *Party* they judg'd most eligible, in order to support their Character and Honour with one Part of the People, rather than by affecting a Luke-Warmness or Indisferency, to lose the Affections of both, which at that Time would have been the natural Effects of such Coolness and Moderation.

As the Times I am speaking of laid the greatest and most conspicuous Subjects of the Kingdom under a Constraint to declare themselves on one Side; so by the Union and Adjunction of eminent and distinguish'd Personages, the Violence of Party Rage became still more somented and exaggerated, and therefore less capable of Extinction.

This melancholy Complexion and Bias of the Nation it was that render'd the prefent Establish'd Succession so difficult and thorny to be obtain'd. This invaluable and inestable Blessing could never have been procur'd to these Realms, but by the Bravery, Magnanimity and Heroism of those worthy Patriots, who effectuated it by a wonderful Address, and by the open Activity and Assistance of one Party only.

It is fomething shocking, upon a calm Deliberation, to reflect how any Man, not a rank Papist in his Heart, could appear neuter, whilst such a momentous Point was in Agitation. One would almost be inclin'd to think, no Man, but such a one who had lost all Idea of Self-Preservation, and who had shook off the Thoughts of Posterity's Welfare, and profess'd himself an Enemy to the Protestant Religion, could be in a drowsy Lethargy, when the

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Cause of his Country call'd for his most vigorous Assistance and undaunted Intrepidity. But such is the Outrage of Party Opposition, that Assairs of the most delicate and tender Nature, and which nearly concern our future Happiness, must give Way to its extravagant Impetuosity.

Tho' this Behaviour, at first, may feem very furprifing and unaccountable, yet upon a Recollection of the Circumstances of the Times, and Temper of the Age, it will appear with a different Aspect. Party Animofities, blind Zealotism and Superstition, were then in their Meridian; nor was there wanting a Gang of Miscreants to add Fuel to the Fire, and nurse up these Principles to the greatest Pitch of Madness and Folly. This Reflexion alone I think sufficient to attone for the Inactivity of the Tories: But, if to this we add the Confideration of their Struggles, at that Time of Day, being

being likely to be attended with no Degree of Glory, the Spring of human Actions, we shall have less Reason to be severe upon these Gentlemen. The opposite Party were beforehand with them, and if they had united with them, they would have only appear'd as fecondary Auxiliaries to aid and affift, whilft the other, from being primary Agents, would have totally eclips'd their Honour. Befides, the Thoughts of having been once misled, and violently engaged in a Party, occafion'd them to entertain an Opinion, that a sudden Change would have quite lost their Credit with the People, and not gain'd them any Reputation with their Prince.

GREATER Mischiefs, and greater Grievances, than what I have touch'd upon, are still the inseparable Concomitants of Party Dissensions. They give wicked and popular Men an Opportunity of employing their C 2 Talents

Talents to work upon the Passions of the giddy Multitude, and of irritating and inflaming the Mob with boisterous unmeaning Sounds, of the dismal and terrible Essects that must attend the Prevalency of the

adverse Party.

The Veracity of this Observation has appear'd by the Conduct of some modern Mock-Patriots, in the later Part of her late Majesty's Reign. At that Time of Day the ministerial Party framed Schemes of a most hellish and destructive Nature, to perpetrate their desperate Enterprises. Every Engine of State was set to work to persuade us that the Church was in imminent Danger, without some violent Change and Convulsions in the Constitution to preserve and uphold it.

THIS Project being accommodated to the Times, took; and induc'd the Tory Party, who then, as well as now, were well known to be ex-

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tremely zealous of preserving the antient Rights and Ceremonies of the Establish'd Church, to listen too much to these popular Rumors, Bellowings and Suggestions.

WHEN the Death of the late Queen unveil'd the Scene, and the whole Proceedings of those Sham-Churchmen at the Helm appear'd to be a Farce and Collusion, contriv'd only to facilitate the Introduction of a Popish Pretender, the Consequence whereof must be the total Destruction, and Extirpation of that Church we always defign'd to preserve; when the Mask was taken off, and Men and their Views display'd in their true Colours, I am well perfuaded, by far the Majority of the High-Church repented of the implicit Credit they had given to the counterfeit Patrons of the Church and Religion.

IT must be confess'd indeed, some few, warmly prejudic'd in Favour of

a Popish Pretender, and enthusiasted with the Cry for the Safety of the Church, have continued averse to the Succession of that Illustrious Family, we owe our all to. But those Men, who, by the Force of their own Genius and Understandings, were capable of stemming the impetuous Torrent, and faw clearly through the Artifice and Chicanery they had been deluded by, foon became reconciled to the present Family, and rejoic'd at the Defeat of fo horrible a Scheme they had, blindly and unwarily, contributed to put in Execution.

Some there were, that did not so readily shake of their Party Prepossessions; but this Excuse, I think, those Gentlemen are justly entitled to plead in their Favour; That however abortive and unsuccessful the Schemes of the tyrannical Ministers prov'd, by the Accession of the prefent Royal Family to the Throne; yet

yet the same Means, the same Tricks and Artifices still continued, of incensing and spiriting up the People against the *Hanover Succession*; and whilst these Practices prevail'd, it cannot be expected that Men should suddenly get rid of their Prejudices.

To suppress and eradicate effectually these Party Struggles and Party Antipathies, nothing hath so much conduced as that long and permanent State of Peace and Tranquillity, which his late, and present Majesty, and their faithful Ministers have so indefatigably labour'd to preserve for us, and which, by their Conduct, God be praised! we have still a Prospect of long enjoying.

To keep up the Spirit of Disaffection among the Tories, some States Incendiaries still represented, The Church was in Danger, that Dissenters would prevail against it, and that no Hopes of its Preservation could be expected from the present

Succession. This Jealousy among the Tories was somewhat cherish'd by taking off the Schism-Bill in Favour of the Dissenters, soon after his late Majesty's Accession. Upon a candid and impartial View of this Step in the Administration, I am apt to think it will appear, that his late Majesty could not refusé the Diffenters an Exemption from such a Restraint; a Restraint, palpably imposed upon them, the better to accomplish the Destruction of his Majesty, as well as of the whole Body of Dissenters, who had appear'd hearty in his Interest, and who had exerted themselves to place him on the Throne.

However, this Consideration of the Matter was far from appealing all the Tories. Many of them look'd on this as an Advance towards the Abolition of the Church, and, consequently, became chagrin'd with, and inveterate against the Government, ment for their Gratitude to their zealous Friends. But Time and Experience have now fully convinc'd us, that both his late and present Majesty have as great a Regard, and as tender a Concern for preserving the Rights of the Church, as the most sanguin of his Predecessors; so far as is consistent with the Laws of Toleration, and that Esteem and Value justly due to the Dissenters, who were equally instrumental in completing the happy Establishment.

As the whole Body of Whigs, to whom we are greatly indebted for all the Liberty we now enjoy, confifts of Churchmen and Dissenters; so amongst the Tories a proper Distinction may be made, between those who are tainted with the detestable Principles of facobitism, and those Tories, who are as heartily attach'd to the present Establishment, as the most rigid Whigs in the Kingdom. Nay, whoever is acquainted with the Bent and Humour

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of the Tories, must have the strongest Conviction, that by far the Majority of them, are as true and as fincere Friends to the present illustrious Family, and as great Sticklers for Liberty, as the most vigorous Church-Whigs or Dissenters are. 'Tis true, no Body of Men have been treated with more Obloquy and Reproach, nor been more basely or scandalously mifrepresented than this Party; and all this opprobrious Treatment has proceeded only from their being perfuaded in their own Consciences, that a National Establish'd Church will ever be the grand Safeguard and Bulwark of our Liberty and Property. And for this Opinion of theirs, we have the concurrent Testimony of all Ages and Nations, that no State ever arrived to any confiderable Grandeur, but what had a national establish'd Religion.

THAT the Tories, as I have observed, are such staunch and hearty
Friends

Friends to the present Family, will not merely rest upon an Assertion, or *Ipse dixit* of mine; but is supportable by an Induction of the strongest Circumstances in their Favour. These will be apparent by considering the almost unsurmountable Difficulties, that must have attended the Succession's taking Place, had not the Majority of *Tories* been inclin'd to it.

It must be confess'd, at the Demise of her late Majesty, they were considerably the most numerous Body in the Nation, had the Army at their Command, and all the Posts of Trust and Profit in the Nation in their Hands. And, I think, no one will doubt, that the then Ministry had enter'd into all Measures, and concerted every Stratagem in their Power, to defeat the Hanover Succession, and to introduce Slavery at once. As every Thing was ripe for Execution, nothing could be a greater Discouragement to their wicked Designs, than

a Self-consciousness, that the greatest, most judicious, and unprejudic'd Part of the Tories, would have revolted against them, and chim'd in with the Whigs, as soon as they had discover'd themselves to have been the Tools of a few Monsters of the first Class.

In the unnatural Rebellion which afterwards enfued, there were few others than some headstrong thoughtless Rabble, who distinguish'd their Propensity and Inclination to Jacobitism; and those who were so unhappily work'd upon by the Temper of the Times, bore no Proportion to the Bulk of the Tories. The Mass of them detested the impious Conduct of the Rebels, and rejoic'd at the victorious Arms of his late Majesty.

IF we ruminate a little on the Vicissitudes of the Assairs of Europe, that have happen'd in his late and present Majesty's Reign, we shall find that many Conjunctures have offer'd for our Enemies to have set up the

Pretender, and raised a violent Rebellion in the Nation, had it not been from an Assurance, that the greatest Part of the Tories would have most vigorously oppos'd any such impost vigorously oppos'd any such impost vigorously oppos'd any such imposition.

pious Attempt.

Those petty Conspiracies, that have been enter'd into to disturb the prefent Family, and their Realms, have always been fortunately detected, and ever been abhor'd by the Majority of that Party, when they have been brought to Light. It is not supposable, had the major Part of these Gentlemen been dispos'd to make his Majesty's Crown sit uneasy upon his Head, that every Attempt that has been made would so easily have miscarry'd, and so suddenly been frustrated.

THESE obvious and cursory Reflections, with many others that I might offer, will be sufficient to evince, that the whole Bulk of the People, generally distinguish'd by the Name

of Tories, are not Adversaries to the Revolution, nor to the present Establishment; nor, indeed, are any confiderable Part of them Enemies to

those Principles. However,

To go a Step farther, and illustrate the true Genius and State of the Tories, it will not be improper to confider the genuine Principles of a constitutional or revolutional Tory (for so I shall hereafter distinguish one Part, from those few who are actuated by different Principles). I imagine no one will deny, but there is a very wide Difference to be made between a Church-Whig and a Dissenter; and I am perfuaded no Tory can be offended, if I make the same Discrimination between a constitutional Tory, or one who is a faithful Subject to the present Family, and a Jacobite Tory, who would be glad to extirpate the whole Royal Progeny.

THE constitutional Tory, we conceive, merits the greatest Veneration,

and highest Regard from every Lover of his King and his Country. If we enquire into the fundamental Principles of our Constitution, we shall find the Church-Whigs, and constitutional or revolutionTories, are its Garde du-Corps, its strongest Fence and Support; they are the Means, of which the Jacobites and Dissenters are the Extremes.

ALL History will confirm this Obfervation upon the Jacobites and Dissenters. For we never find therein any national Calamities or Enormities committed in the State, but at such particular Junctures, as the Jacobites or Dissenters had the Power of turning the Scale in the Counsels of State.

HERE it will be proper to make some Observations on the small Difference there is between a sound constitutional Tory, and a Church-Whig.

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THE Protection, the Honour, and Support of the Protestant establish'd national Church, and the Succession in his Majesty's illustrious House, are the grand Points the Church-Whigs, or constitutional Tories, never lose Sight of, but revolve round them as fo many attractive Principles. They only move to one Party Side, or to the other, as they are more remote from the Party they have the greatest Aversion to. And as Bodies move towards each other by Gravity or Attraction, so these move from each other by Dislike or Antipathy. For the Church-Whigs never vote with the Dissenters, because they have any Affection for them arising from their religious Tenets, but because they have a greater Aversion to the Jacobites their direct Opposite, and so cling to the minus Malum to avoid the majus.

THE constitutional Tory, indeed, fometimes sides with that Party, in which some few Jacobites make a

Part.

Part. This they do from an Apprehenfion, that they being few in Number, are less dangerous to the Constitution than the Dissenters. The Church-Whig joins with the Diffenter, as thinking the Jacobites more dangerous. And herein they must be allow'd to judge right, if the Jacobites could be supposed any great or formidable Body. But as our former Remarks shew the greatest Probability they are not, I shall not take upon me to determine whether the constitutional Tory, or Church-Whig, acts for the greater Safety to our Establishment. But this I shall endeavour to shew, that a constitutional Tory, and a Church-Whig, are the same in Principle to the Constitution, but differ only in their Opinions about the Means of preserving it.

WHAT I have already urged, I think sufficient to elucidate, that the greatest Part of the Tories, even supposing they have once err'd in Point

of Judgment, in the Ways and Means to preferve our prefent Establishment, are yet Well-Wishers to it, good Subjects to the King, and ought not, in any Respect, to be treated as in the least Degree disaffected to the Government. And,

WHILE I am shewing the Tories not unworthy the Regard and Favour of their Prince and Country at prefent, I shall here observe, what a good Opinion, in many Cases, his late and present Majesty have been pleased to entertain of them, under the particular Circumstances of their Reigns.

In this Enquiry we shall find, that the Church and Constitution have been maintain'd, and upheld, to the same Degree of Excellency as ever; that the same Rights and Privileges are still continu'd to us, and to our happy and well constituted Church; and all its decent, wise and pious Discipline still remains in the same State

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State as in the Reign of her late

Majesty.

I know there are many Tories, who imagine that the whole Body have merited greater Favours, and higher Honours, than in these Reigns have hitherto been conferr'd upon them. But if I may be allow'd, without Offence, to speak freely, I cannot but say, they have receiv'd all the Favour they could in Reason expect, or that his late or present Maje-fly, consistent with the Rules of good Policy, and the Laws of Honour and Gratitude, could bestow upon them.

Tho' great Numbers of the Tories,
I am well affur'd, wish'd well to the
Succession, and had the Protestant
Interest at Heart, as much as the most
active Whigs at that Time a Day;
and tho' his Majesty, it may be presum'd, was sensible of this; yet such
were the unhappy Effects of Party
Divisions, that in Point of Wisdom
and Policy, he could, upon no AcE 2 count

count confer Honours and Dignities upon any of that Body, without hazarding the Affection and Attachment of the whole Party who had fo strenuously espous'd his Cause; for 'tis highly reasonable to imagine, his known Friends would have been highly disgusted at the least Countenance of the Tory Party, and might have occasion'd a general Desection of those who had openly signaliz'd themselves to fix him on the Throne.

During the whole Course of his Majesty's Reign, no Step in his Administration appears to be taken with a View to prejudice the establish'd Church. The whole Series of his Conduct displays a steady and princely Resolution, not only to protect his Subjects in the complete Enjoyment of every Right they were posses'd of at his Accession, but to confer additional Privileges and Immunities upon the Lovers of Liberty, whose Principles alone are the only Basis

fis on which he himself can stand fecure.

We can never suppose the Disserters, who have so long desir'd the Destruction of the Establishment of the Church, to be destitute of Schemes for that Purpose, or want Inclination to put them in Execution. This, I say, we can never suppose. The only Reason why they have declin'd such bold Attempts, is, that they had all the Assurance in Life, that any Project, calculated to be the least detrimental to the establish'd Church, would meet with nothing but Detestation and Contempt from the King, and his Ministry.

THE Reign of his present Majesty furnishes us with all the Testimonies and Convictions we can desire, both from the Royal Family and the Ministry, of their sincere Regard for the establish'd Constitution in Church and State. The Favours that have constantly slow'd from the Royal Fountain.

tain, on those several worthy and able Pens, which have confpicuously exerted themselves in stopping that impetuous Torrent of Deism and Infidelity, which has of late Years fo violently broke in upon us, is an incontestable Demonstration, that his Majesty is resolutely determin'd to stand by Religion, and as well protect the establist'd Church as the Toleration. Those immoral Writings, which have attack'd the grand Pillar of our Faith, and have threatened the Destruction of Christianity, and the Ruin of the Church, make it highly expedient, that his Majesty and Ministry should stand stedfastly by them. And as by their Conduct hitherto, they have manifested their great Care and Concern for the Church, fo I doubt not but we shall ever find hearty Friends in them, if we shew ourselves dispos'd to adhere inviolably to the Interest of her in Conjunction with them.

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THE Expulsion of the Bill to prevent Suites for Tythes, effected solely by the Opposition of the Ministry, must be an irrefragable Argument, with every true Member of the establish'd Church, that their Fears and Suspicions, of its wanting Friends in the Administration, are groundless and chimerical.

To form a just Idea of the Benefit done to the establish'd Church, by rejecting that Bill, it will be necessary to consider the End for which it was calculated; and we shall find it was levelled at nothing less than the total Destruction of the Rights of all the Clergy of England; and this to be effectually accomplish'd in a small Revolution of Time.

To deprive the Clergy of their common Right to Tythes, as the Law now stands, was the Design of this Bill; or the Presumption of Law, that all Lands ought to pay Tythes, unless the Proprietor can shew any Exemption, or legal

legal Reason to the contrary, by inverting the Cafe, and giving to the Proprietors of Land that common Right, whereby Lands, for the future, would have been in Law prefumed Tythe-free. This was the Intent, unless the Incumbents could prove fuch Lands liable to pay Tythes, within a certain Term of Years; which must be very difficult to be done, fince a Proof that Lands had paid Tythes within the Memory of Man (the common Rule of fixing Right in other Cases) could not be admitted, but the Clergy were confin'd to a Retrospect of forty Years only. Within which Space of Time, if they were not able to prove Lands had paid Tythes, these Lands were for ever after exempted.

THE extreme Hardships of the Clergy, and the pernicious Consequences to the Church, had this Bill pass'd into a Law, will still appear more formidable, if we consider, that

all Receipts for Tythes, and such like Evidence and Credentials to prove the Payment of them, being given to, and in the Possession of the Proprietors of Lands, whose Interest it would have been to have conceal'd them, would be difficult, if not impossible, to be brought to Light. Besides, the Clergy holding their Livings for Life only, many may neglect taking due Care for their Successors; and what Evidence might be preserv'd and collected would frequently never have been deliver'dup, or communicated to the fucceeding Incumbent, by the Executors of his Predecessors. So that in a short Period of Time, a considerable Part of the Lands in the Kingdom would have become Tythe-free, the Church strip'd and rob'd of its antient Rights, and the Subfiftence of the Clergy expos'd to the voluntary Contributions of the People.

IT is unnecessary for me to expatiate further upon the fatal Effects this

Bill must have occasion'd to the Church, since the Reasons against its passing into a Law, were set in a strong and a just Light by the Honourable Gentleman in the Administration, and by an eminent and worthy Prelate of the Church, whose unanswerable Reasons, in Conjunction with those of the Ministry, were attended to by Parliament, and the Bill rejected.

But, without casting our Eyes much back upon the Conduct of the Ministry in Regard to the establish'd Church, we have a late Instance, at present fresh in every Man's Memory, of their strong and inviolable Affection and Attachment to her Interest: I mean the Reception the Dissenters met with in their strenuous Efforts and Struggles to obtain a Repeal of the Test AEI, the only distinguishing Criterion whereby to exhibit who are hearty Friends to the Constitution both in Church and State.

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THESE short Reslections on the Situation and Circumstances of the Tories, at his late Majesty's Accession; their Behaviour ever since, and the Conduct of his late and present Majesty, and the Ministry towards them, must dissipate all Fears and Terrors for the establish'd Church, from the Breast of every Tory in the Nation; and manifest, that his Denomination does not forever exclude him from the Royal Favour, tho' Circumstances of Affairs made it necessary for a Time.

Human Societies, as well as the Circumstances of every individual Member, are in an eternal Change and Fluctuation. Such who by wise Conduct, or lucky Events, may be entitled to the chief Favours of Government, and Smiles of them in Power, may, by other Scenes of weak and ungrateful Management, forfeit them; while others, more remote from royal Regard, by a steady and good Conduct,

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may

may obtain those Favours their Rivals have shew'd themselves unworthy of.

This naturally leads me to confider the Behaviour of the Whigs in general, during the Periods I have alluded to. It cannot be faid, with any Colour of Truth, that they have been fo unanimous in promoting the Interest of his Majesty, as the Tories have been unanimous in not oppofing it. Tho' they frequently chose such Members as differted from several Proceedings in the Administration, when perhaps they tended to give too great Countenance to Dissenters, or were prejudicial to the establish'd Church; yet from whatever Motive the Oppofition of the Tory Members might proceed, it never terminated in any Thing more, than a bare Dissent in the House. They, nor any others, but those who eat the Bread of Scandal, ever went fuch Lengths, as to use seditious Declamations or Aggravations without Doors, to enrage the People People against every Design of the Administration, merely out of a Spirit of

Opposition and Defamation.

THE Conduct of some of the Whigs, in this Respect, has been quite different from that of the constitutional Tories. Tho' his late and prefent Majesty bestow'd almost all Honours and Preferments on the Whigs; yet because it was out of their Power to bestow Titles and Places of the first Rank in the Nation upon every Whig in the Kingdom, How many have deferted his Majesty's Interest? How many, from private Pique and Refentment, have flew in the Face of the Administration, and, from strenuous Advocates and Approvers of his Majesty's wife and mild Government, have metamorphofed themselves into his implacable Enemies? Have they not run headlong into Schemes of the rankest Facobites in the Kingdom, and acted in open Concert with them? Have they not united with the most

inveterate Foes to our Constitution, and the illustrious Family on the Throne, purposely to libel the Government, and embarras and perplex every justifiable Step in the Administration? No despicable Project or Stratagem has been left unattempted to render the Ministry contemptible in the Sight of the giddy Rabble, and unthinking Multitude; and even to ripen and prepare them, if possible, for Rebellions and Infurrections. To effectuate this wicked Defign, this matchless Iniquity, the most palpable Falshoods, the most vile Suggestions and Infinuations have been for many Years trumpeted thro' the Nation, to alienate the Affections of the good People of England from their gracious Sovereign, and his wise, his try'd and experienc'd Ministry.

ACTIONS the most virtuous and heroic have been laugh'd at, and ridicul'd. Policy, the most profound, conspicuous by its happy Effects, treated with low Sarcasm and Bussienery;

a Series of wife Negotiations, only tending to one grand and notable Point in View, fneer'd at, mifrepresented, and painted in the most ludicrous Colours. In a Word; a Scene of the most deep-lay'd Wisdom, and of the most inestimable Benefits to Great-Britain, at a Time too, when we were most in need of them, has been set forth, as a Scene of Folly, Persidy and Blundering.

As the Danger of the Church was formerly found of extraordinary Use in deluding the Tories; in like Manner the Danger of our Liberties has been judy'd a delicious Bait, to trapan many short-sighted Whigs from the Interest of his Majesty into a factious Cabal, in order to unite with the Tories, the better to distress the Administration; imagining the Tories were weak enough to be decoy'd into any wicked Scheme, calculated only for the private Interest of a few unhappy and disappointed Malecontents.

THESE

THESE modern Politicians, in their popular and luxuriant Libels, have stretch'd the Principles of Whigism to those of unbounded Republicanism; and, instead of tenaciously adhering to the Purity of our happy Constitution, have labour'd with unwearied Industry and Application to plunge us into a State of Anarchy and Confusion. The Crown has been strip'd naked of all its Prerogative and Authority, a King represented as a Cypher, and below a Ministerial Officer, who holds his Crown at the Caprice and Inflability of the Populace, or at the Pleasure of every petty Faction, that may rear its contagious Head from base and felf-interested Views and Designs.

THE late Prevalency of those licentious Principles, which make it fashionable and polite to speak Ill of Government, and rail at the Administration, has poison'd and infatuated those, who have ever valued themselves upon being hearty Friends to the

the Constitution, and the present illustrious Family. I mean the Dissenters from the establish'd Church, who lately have dissented in their Politicks as well as their Religion, and run such Lengths, in some of their Writings, as to menace the Government, and to hector them into a Compliance with their Schemes to break in upon the Peace and Tranquillity of the Church.

Such Conduct from that Body is of so extraordinary and unprecedented a Nature, and so directly opposite to their wonted Behaviour towards the Government, that an impartial Spectator cannot attribute it to any Thing less than the Machinations of some first-rate Malecontents. We can never suppose the Dissenters of themselves would have used such Threats and Insults to a Government they have received such Indulgences from, without being spirited up to it by some latent Incendiaries, or Sham-

Patriots, who had schem'd them for their Dupes, and as Props to their

dying Cause.

AND, indeed, many of those judicious Gentlemen, who sagely oppos'd such rash and precipitate Proceedings, were fully convinc'd, that the clamorous Ebullitions of their Fraternity were owing to the secret Operations and Insluences of antiminification! Madness and Enthusiasm; and therefore they vigorously interpos'd to reduce them to Reason; and by a happy Address they so pacified and quelled them, that they are not likely to become the Tools of such a despairing Clan.

I would not be thought to throw any Reflection, or express myself with the least Asperity, or with an unchristian Temper against the Disfenters as such; but I would be understood to set forth, in its proper Colours, the ungrateful Conduct of many who profess themselves Whigs.

Nor would I by any Means be fufpected to fay any Thing derogatory from the Character of Gentlemen of that Denomination, whether Churchmen or Dissenters. My Design is principally to evince, that such trite and threadbare Distinctions are no certain and infallible Marks of a good or an ill Subject; but the only Criterion whereby we may justly know the one from the other, is, their fleady Adherence and inviolable Attachment to our happy Constitution both in Church and State: And some of these truly good Subjects are to be found among all Parties and Persuafions, fuch only excepted whose profefs'd Principles are apparently subverfive of our whole Establishment.

WHEN we view Men in their private Capacity, moving unbias'd thro' the various Scenes of Party-Fury and Party-Malevolence, opposing every Project, and every Artifice which appears manifestly form'd for Usurpa-

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tion, Oppression, and Destruction of the Constitution: When we behold them resolutely struggling to suppress every turbulent Faction, rais'd without Foundation, merely by the Contrivance of Men whose Politicks are more calculated to fatiate and glut their own Ambition, and to sport themselves upon the strong Passions and weak Judgments, of the Commonalty, than to enlighten their Understandings by a fair and candid Illustration of the Affairs of State; when fuch Men, fuch genuine Patriots make their Appearance among us, they cannot be too much caresi'd by a Prince and his People. But,

On the other Hand, when we see Men indefatigable in cherishing and fomenting the Spirit of Party Dissention, Bitterness, and Enmity; when we behold them nursing up Faction, kindling the Fire of Discord in the Heart of the Nation, and ripening the the unthinking Herd for any Innovation or Revolution in the Constitution: When these Monsters spring up in the State, they only merit the utmost Contempt and Indignation from a wise and a steddy People, a People not given to Change, or fond of new-fangled Principles of Policy or Religion.

No sooner does a Nation listen to these scribling and pratling Reformators of the State, or begin to think and speak freely hard Things of Government, and incroach upon the Prerogative, but some upstart Novelists, or some enthusiastick Don Furiosos set upon reforming, as they call it, Religion, and new-moulding and kneading of that in Conformity to the Projects of our civil Reformers. Hence 'tis we find of late the Honour and Dignity of our Religion attack'd, the Clergy ridicul'd, their Peccadilloes magnified to Enormities, and our Bibles laugh'd at, and made a Jest of by deiftical Republicans, who are as great Enemies to our civil Constitution as to Christianity itself; and therefore level their Battery against both, that they may fall together.

NOTHING gauls these antimonarchical and antichristian Gentlemen more, than to behold a Prince and his Ministry bent upon standing immovably by the Church, and suffering no Infringements upon her Oeconomy or Discipline, nor permitting any Breaches or Inroads to be made upon her peculiar Privileges; not even by those who have been Friends to the Royal Family. Nor,

Is it less chagrining to Persons of this Stamp to find, they can make no Encroachments upon the Prerogative and Authority of the *Prince*, which is our constitutional Barrier to their licentious Principles of Policy. While a *Prince* possesses his just Proportion of Power, consistent with our Constitution, the due Balance be-

tween

tween the Lords and Commons may be preferv'd, and all Innovations effectually impeded. What these Latitudinarians in Politicks, as well as Religion, aim at, is, to deprive the Crown of every Degree of Power, and of every Friend who contributes to support its just Dignity and Au-

thority.

To this End every common Officer, according to our modern Politicks, employ'd in any Branch of the Revenue, is to oppose the Meafures of the Administration; and every Gentleman, who has the least Post under the Government, must be no Aid or Assistance to the Government in carrying on the grand Business of the Nation. This is laying the Axe to the Root of the Tree; this is an infallible Way to reduce the Power of a King, and render him of as little Significancy or Moment in the State, as one of his ordinary Subjects. Nay, these **Maxims**

Maxims of Policy have been carried fo far, as to esteem it a Crime of a most heinous Nature, for any one to act in Concert with our King and his Ministry, let their Measures appear ever so wise and justifiable to them. The greatest Virtue, and most exalted and sublime Patriotism, is, in this Age of Wisdom, to oppose, to bellow and rave at every Thing, right or wrong, and to harangue against every Proposition that may encrease their Popularity, and captivate the Ears of the Vulgar.

It is not to be doubted, but many true Friends to our Conftitution are mingled and incorporated with every Party; but the Difficulty lies in judging who they are, and which Party abounds with most of them. By one Party, which has remarkably distinguish'd themselves in our Days, it has been frequently urged, that good Astions are not to be condemn'd or censur'd, from whatever Motive they

they may have proceeded. However true in the general this may appear to these Casuists, yet if consider'd, in a political Light, I am inclin'd to think it very exceptionable, as being attended with many bad Consequences.

This Kind of Doctrine is generally propagated by Men who are extremely follicitous to evade a fevere Scrutiny into their Motives; the better to gloss and varnish them over, is to dazzle us with a pretended Exuberancy of good Actions, and with Works of Supererogation. But,

IF Men act merely from Self-Interest, from Ambition, Faction, or Revenge, and only set up the Shape and Figure of Publick Good, to conceal the grand and occult Spring of their Actions, they will no further pursue the real common Good, than it quadrates and coincides with their own private Designs. Nor will they ever be satisfied till those Passions, which

which were their primary Motives, are fully gratified and indulged. This was the Case of Cromwell and his mercenary Crew, who, under the colourable Pretext of Liberty, acted in Concert with his Emissaries to distress the State, till they reduc'd it to a State of Anarchy and Rebellion, that he might, with less Difficulty and Opposition, get Possession of the Crown. I would be very cautious of infinuating any Thing that was chimerical or romantick; but it is remarkable, that, in many Respects, the Conduct of our modern State-Reformers, refembles that of some Republican Usurpers.

THESE thundering Patriots of our Days, are compounded of all the Extremities and Contrarieties of the Constitution, viz. Papists and Jacobites, Deists and Atheists, Bigots and Enthusiasts, Despoticks and Republicans. Some have entered the List from Disappointment at Court, others

others from Despair; some from Pride and Affectation, others from Ignorance and Folly. In short, such a Medley of opposite and repugnant Principles, constitutes the whole Band of Opponents and Adversaries to our present Constitution, both in Church and State, that if they could meet with their defir'd Success, I am greatly at a Loss to imagine who must have the Cooking of the State, and the Mangling of the Church. To hit the Taste of every one of these Gentlemen, we should certainly have a most delicate Hodge-Podge of Government, a most whimsical Constitution.

'T is more than probable, that these reforming Gentry have one general Point in View, tho' they pursue it by different Mediums. One point their Cannon at the Power and Prerogative of the Prince, at his Friends, and his Ministry; while others are laying violent Siege to the Authority of our Religion. These latter Species of H 2

Renovators, indeed, do not hold out the Enfign, and appear publickly in the Field of Faction, but are employ'd in providing proper Food for its Subfishence and Encouragement.

ONE of these Refiners of Religion has step'd forth in the Disguise of a Country Clergyman *, that, with a better Grace, he may propagate his Craft; for there are Craftsmen in Religion as well as Politicks. The Way this Gentleman has judg'd most eligible to destroy Christianity, Root and Branch, is, not only by fneering at its Points of Faith, but by laughing at its Professors and Advocates, for pretending to use Reason in Vindication of the Gospel. For, says he, it is ridiculous to urge Reason in Defence of that which is univerfally allow'd mystical and incomprehensible. But that Author does not feem to diftinguish between defending the Scrip-

^{*} Remarks upon the Minute Philosopher, in a Letter from a Country Clergyman.

tures in general, as being of divine Authority, and explaining the Mysteries he afferts to be contain'd in them. No one, that ever I heard of, has prefum'd to account for, or demonstrate what they have allow'd Mysteries and Unaccountables. The utmost that the warmest Advocates for Christianity have attempted, is to illustrate what are deem'd Gospel Mysteries, from fome glimmering Analogy, Similitude or Resemblance they bear to many of the Phænomena of Nature; which, in variety of Cases, are equally mysterious with our Points of Faith, and yet, on proper Evidence, are credited by the freest Enquirers. The Book of Nature exhibits Variety of Mysteries and Riddles, which hitherto have not been demonstratively accounted for by the most celebrated and acute Philosophers; (as Gravity, Attraction, the Properties of the Loadstone, or the Cohasson of Matter;) and yet no one will prefume

fume to fay, Nature is not of divine Original, or that the Universe had not Deity for its Parent.

But this Gentleman makes a further Advance, and artfully draws a Parallel between the Authority of the Gospel, and the Story of the Warming-Pan, relating to the Pretender. Here he helps two Points at once, viz. weakens the Foundation of our Religion, and propagates the Legitimacy of the Pretender. This is a bold Stroke at both Church and State. But the Gentleman, indeed, to speak freely of him, feems to be a Papist in Masquerade; because, like them, he is for refolving all Religion into Faith and Mystery, and reducing it to nothing more or less than a Bundle of State Policy. To accomplish his Defign, he certainly takes the most infallible Way; for if he can once bring us back to Paganism, it is but an easy Transition from that to Popery. How-

However contemptibly we may think of the Pope and his Jesuitical Gang, they feem, in this Case, to lay their Policy very deep and profound. Englishmen, they well know, have no Reliss for Popery, no Taste for Priestcraft, Superstition and Idolatry; but, fay they, if we can once reduce them to Heathenism in Religion, and Republicanism in Government, then the Nation will be full ripe for our Stamps and Impressions. For as the Romish Religion is no more than the Revival of the Heathenism of antient Rome, so Deism and Republicanism most naturally lead to it *.

To return to our Author. The Gentleman acknowledges the good Effects of both the Gospel and Warming-Pan, tho' he treats them equally as egregious Impostures. Now, if the Effects are so good and so beneficial to the State, the Cause which produced

^{*} Vide Dr. Middleton's Letter from Rome, &c.

these Effects (i. e. the divine Authority of the Scripture) ought always to be preserv'd, as the Continuance of the Cause will ever be a Means of continuing the Effects to Posterity.

If it be Folly for the Patrons of Religion to bring Reason into the Field in its Defence (as he allows its good Effects, and that it is the strongest Tye of Society) it must, according to his own Way of Reasoning, be superlatively wicked and uncharitable in him, and all his Fellow Labourers, to bring Reason into the Field against Religion, and attack it where nothing but Reason can defend it.

ALL deistical Principles are destructive of moral Good, whatever the Pretence may be to the contrary. For this must be granted, viz. that as Religion is establish'd, agreeable to our own Constitution, it can produce no more Evil in the World than what would have existed without it. Now it is certain, that Thousands do good Actions, not from the Amiableness or natural Love of Virtue, but from the Efficacy of the Belief of future Rewards and Punishments annex'd to Christianity. If then there are Numbers, who without the Force of that Belief, would have indulg'd themselves in the most enormous Scenes of Wickedness, then there is so much real Good, arifing from Christianity, added to Society, as Men are more virtuous under its Dispensation, than they would be was it destroy'd. Every Deist, therefore, must be allow'd so far an Enemy to Society, as he labours to extirpate all that Good produc'd to Society by Religion, and does not ascertain to us, how we shall receive an equal Quantity of Good in its stead.

As Deists are for shaking off all the Restraints of Religion, and for destroying the Church, so are they for exempting themselves from those of

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Civil Government. Accordingly they alarm us, that all Civil Government is an Infringement upon natural Right, and fo they are for unhinging, and quite eradicating that, and being confin'd to no fettled Constitution. But, Our Constitution, fays an ingenious Writer, is the main Point ever to be regarded; which, God be praised! bath been preserved thro' so many Ages. For the there have been some Men often found, and of great Parts too, who, for their private Advantages, are aiding, sometimes the Monarch, and Sometimes the Party that would be a Commonwealth, under specious Pretences for the Publick Good, to exceed the Limits the Constitution hath prescribed in this Country; yet the Nation still finds, in all Ages, Some truly publick Spirits, that preserve it from being long imposed upon. There is a Craft, and a perpetual Subtilty, that Men of private Interest must work with to Support

port their own Designs: But the true Interest of the Kingdom is the plainest Thing in the World: It is what every body in England finds and feels, and knows to be right, and they are not long a finding it neither. This is that Interest, that is supported Non tam fama, quam fua vi; its own Weight still keeps it steddy against all the Storms, that can be brought to beat upon it, either from the Ignorance of Strangers to our Constitution, or the Violence of any, that project to themselves wild Notions of appealing to the People out of Parliament (a Parliament sitting) as it were to a fourth Estate of the Realm; and calling upon them to come and take their Share in the Direction of the Publick, and most important Consultations.

As an unfeigned Affection and Good Will towards my Brethren the *Tories*, the *constitutional Tories*, difposed me to this Undertaking, I can.

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not conclude these Papers without addressing myself to them in a particular Manner.

GENTLEMEN,

THE general Charge against us Tories, is, that we have ever been too strenuous, and too warm for the Reval Preregative, too tender of the Person of the Prince, and too tenacious for supporting the Power of the Crown; that we are too much bigotted and Priest-ridden, that we magnify the Power of the Glergy beyond Reason, are for aggrandizing the Church, and for perfecuting the Diffenters. These are our Accusations; and, I think, the chief, which we have ever been stigmatiz'd with, even at a Time too when it was fashionable for every Party to be fiery Zealots for their Principles. Shall we then run from these Principles, which are term'd the Extreme, into the direct Opposite? Into an Extreme infinitely

finitely more prejudicial to our happy Constitution? Shall we, instead of embracing the Mean, run into the Aims of them, who are for destroying all Royal Prerogative? Who have no Regard to the Person of Majesty, nor to the Name of a King? Shall we unite with fuch Men, who are for stripping the Prince of that Balance of Power, absolutely necessary to be held in the Royal Hand, as a Security for the Protection of the Church and State, and the Suppression of ---- Republican Faction? Shall we, who 'tis faid, have had too great a Regard for the Clergy and Religion, join ourselves with Men, who are for bringing both into Contempt, in order to pave the Way for an antimonarchical, deistical and republican Government, which must inevitably be the total Subversion of our Constitution in Church and State?

You have been once already thoroughly deceiv'd, to the great Prejudice

judice of yourselves and Families, by these wicked Men, who roar'd out that the Church was in Danger at the Accession of his late Majesty; but you have now a thorough Conviction and Experience to the contrary. The Papists, Jacobites, Republicans and Deifts are still working under Ground to deceive you again, and to make you imagine your Liberties are in Danger, tho', 'tis demonstrable you never enjoy'd so great a Share. This Cry hath been clamour'd thro' the Nation these seven Years, and still we are a brave, a happy, a free, and a flour shing People, and our Trade daily encreases. Are we for ever to be made the Dupes and Muckworms of every idle Faction, of every ambitious Statesman? Are we ever to be thought Enemies to the Royal Family, and treated by those who would keep us out of Favour with his Majesty, with the opprobrious Names of Jacobites, whose Principles we detest?

test? Shall we never, by our Conduct, shew ourselves deserving of Royal Regard; and, as worthy as any Men, of being receiv'd into the highest Posts of Trust and Honour under the Government? Shall we ever be estrang'd and distinguished from the constitutional Whigs, who are for preserving the Church and the Prerogative upon the same Footing with ourselves? Shall these trifling, unmanly and unchristian Dissensions and Animolities for ever separate us, and be an eternal Obstacle to our Union and Concord in adhering to our Church and our King? Shall we two Parties, who have the same grand and glorious Point in View, and who are the very Stamina and Pillars of the Constitution of GREAT BRITAIN, be divided by wicked and defigning Knaves? By a Medley of Papifts, Jacobites and Republicans, who have nothing at Heart but their own Interest, and the Destruction of all Polity,

Polity, both Civil and Ecclefiafti-

Our former Observations sufficiently evince, that both his late and present Majesty have always reckoned up many of their true Friends amongst the Tories; but as hitherto our Misfortune has been, that his Majesty could never distinguish us, let us now with Unanimity distinguish ourselves; let us, by our loyal Conduct, our hearty Zeal, and our hearty Love to our Country and Conflitution, and to his Majesty's Royal Person and Illustrious Progeny, convince the World, that fince we have had undeniable Testimonies, that his Majesty and Ministry are determin'd to adhere to the Church, and to preferve and uphold all its antient Privileges and diftinguishing Characterifficks, nor will fuffer any Breaches or Encroachments to be made upon her; I fay, let us convince the whole World, that fince his Majesty and Ministry

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have been the grand Pillars and Supports of the Church and Constitution, that we will for ever be the grand Pillars and Supports of his Majesty's Royal Person and Family, and of the just Prerogative, by our happy Establishment inseparably annexed to the Crown.

FINIS.









